Kanchi Pallava Coins

K. A. THIRUGNANASAMPANDAM, M.A., M.PHIL

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PREFACE

During my visit to Vijayamangalam (Periyar District) in the year 1968, I had the opportunity to see the ancient ruined Jain temple popularly known as 'nettai gopuram'. When I stayed there for more than a week contacting the local people I was able to collect a few old coins of different dynasties. Thus started my numismatic interest. In 1980 I submitted the thesis, 'Sangam Age barter system and coinage' to the University of Madras for my M. Phil degree. My field visits for coin collection included historical places, ruined ancient cities, sea ports and temple towns I have collected various types of coins ofcourse with much difficulties

For the specific purpose of writing this book I took special efforts to collect considerable number of Pallava coins. I was able to collect more than fifty Pallava coins of Bull type and Lion type. During 1987 and 1988 I had several trips to Thiruchirapalli, Madurai, Pudukottai, Thirukkovilur, Kancheepuram, Dharmapuri, Mahabalipuram and Nellore.

The constant encouragement of Thiru V. Jayaraj M.A.M.Sc. curator of Government Museum of Periyar District is the true source of inspiration for bringing out this book. The valuable guidance of Thiru R. Poongunran, M.A., and Thiru K. Karunnandan, M.A., Registering Officers of Archaeology Department of Government of Tamil Nadu is another source of confidence. In fact my well wishers encouraged me to prepare a paper and present it in the 'All India Numismatic Conference held at Tamil University, Thanjavur during December 1988. I presented the paper, 'Kanchi Pallava coins' accordingly and a number of numismatic scholars from North India insisted its publication in the form of a book. Hence this humble attempt.

I am thankful to Thiru G. Rajasekar, B.Sc., B.L. Secretary and Cerrespondent and Thiru G. Rajendran, B.Sc., president of the Managing board of Chikkaiah Naicker College for their support. I am also thankful to Thiru M. K. Subramaniam, M.A. Principal and Professors Dr. K. R. Paramasivam, Thiru V. Ambalavanan, M.A., M. Phil. Thiru P. Kandasamy, M.Sc., and S. Rajaretnam, M.A., of Chikkaiah Naicker College Erode. I should also thank the Manager and Indian Bank, Erode Branch for their financial assisstance.

FOREWORD

V. JEYARAJ, M.sc., M.A.,
CURATOR,
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It is a milestone in the history of periyar district that coins of various dynasties are found studied, and published. In this endeavour Professor. K. A. Thirugnanasambandam, Head of the Department of Tamil, Chickiah Naicker College, Erode has written this book on "Kanchi Pallava Coins". He has collected various types of coins for over 15 years. The collection of coins which he started as a hobby has created the interest to bring out a book.

He has been collecting coins in and around Tamil Nadu. He has been one of the best Numismatists in Tamil Nadu and the best Numismatist of Periyar district. He has tried his best to portray the cultural, commercial, economic and historical aspects of the Kanchipallavas. His approach to the study of the coins is scientific and vivid. The rare set of coins illustrated is a very valuable source of information to the Numismatists. I hope this will going to be a standard reference book of the scholars, teachers, students as the plates provided in the book give the details of Pallava coins.

(V. JEYARAJ)

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HISTORY AND CULTURE OF PALLAVAS THROUGH COINS

PALLAVA THEYAM :

Pallavas are the war loving race whose territory included Bellary and a part of the present Mysore State, the present North Arcot, South Arcot and Chengalput Districts, with a portion of Tanjore and Trichirappalli Districts. In the North their arms were carried as far as Orissa. Pre-Pallavas, who ruled at Pallavapuri or Bhavatri which is in Nellore District and post Pallava ruled keeping Kanji as capital till the 9th century A.D. Initially Copper plates were issued only from Nellore and Gundur area with Lion as royal seal or crest.

Terminology of Pallava Coins: Pon, Panam, Kanam, Manjadi, Kalanju, Tulai Pon, Tulai Nirai Pon are the terms in Tamil to represent coins to be derived from the weights. Pon and Kanam indicate the metal used in these coins.

This brief work is based on the surface level collection of coins during the M.Phil. field study of the author in and around Kanchipuram,[1] Madurai, Mahabalipuram, Tirukoilure, Tiruchirappalli, Pudukottai, Dharmapuri, Nellore and Gundur.

Excavation at Kanchi: In the recent excavation done at Kanchipuram, by the Southern circle of the Archaeological survey of India, eight lead coins have been unearthed which appear to be those of early Pallavas.[1a] After the fall of Satavahana empire the feudatory Pallavas become independent rulers at Kanchipuram about the beginning of 4th Century A.D. and issued their copper plate charters.[2]

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1. "*Barter System and Coinage in Sangam Age*"—*M.Phil. Thesis, Madras University*—1980.

1a. *See appendix No.* 1 *for details of excavation of Pallava coins at Kanchi.*

2. *Dr. K. V. Raman,* "*Pallavas Coins at Kanchi*".

The coins obtained from the excavation are all lead coins. The Pallavas issued the lead coins as Satavahana rulers. From Tamil literary work, Nandhikalampakam and from the Pallavas inscriptions we infer that Kanchipuram Pallavas had Rishabha or bull as their dynastic emblem. Both the bull and lion emblems were in use in the Pallava territory. Pallava epigraphic evidences show the existence of gold coins which were showered in temples[3].

The emblem of the Pallavas was the recumbent bull on whose flanks are tall lamps, which symbolize light and truth.[4] On the Pikira Copper plates, we have the seal of lion. Perhaps the bull was used for the Pallavas were worshippers of Siva whose vehicles is the bull.[5]

The Pre-Pallavas were pastrol people and so they issued coins of bull type. The lion type coins may represent their victory over their enemies.[6]

Origin of Pallavas : Historians on the Pallavas, have difference of opinion, regarding the origin of Pallavas. We have some references on Pallavas in Tamil Sangam literatures, (Kalithogai and Tholkappiam.) In Mullai Kali (Verse No. 104) there is a reference for the participation of Pallavas in “ manji virattu ”.[7]

In Tholkappia Sutra No. 54, Nachinarkiniar the commentator has quoted a poem, which clearly state that Thondai Pallava King's archers, captured the cattle wealth of Vadugar.[8]

From the above literary evidences, we may say after Sangam age the Pallavas were ruling Kanchipuram and they were also Thondaiman Thiraiyar. Perumpanarrupadai, another Sangam literature also praises, the Kanchi Illanthiraiyar, who ruled th

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[3] *J.N.S.I. Vol. XXXI, pp.* 185-186—1969. “*Thirty Pallava Copper Plates—Published by Tamil Varalatru Kazhakam*—1966.

[4] *S.I.I.Vol. XIII, No.* 57.

[5] *S.I.I. Vol. VII, No.* 530.

[6] *Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, South Indian Polity*—p. 87—1967.

[7] *Thiru R. Rangarajan, M.A., ‘Thesis on Mullai Kali’*—1988.

[8] *Thol. Sutra* 54—*in Agathinai-Porul*—“*Pacilai Thondai Pallavan Anyin*”.

Thondaimandalam during Sangam Age. In Sangam age, one sect of Pallavas called as 'Thirayar' ruled at 'Bhavatiri' as capital which was situated near the sea of present Nellore District of Andhra Pradesh, was washed away by rough sea.[9]

After the destruction of their capital the Bhavatiri Pallavas moved to Kanchipuram and settled there. Mayidavelu copper plates mention that the Pallavas from 3rd Century onwards ruled at Kanchipuram. Pallava Country was called as Pallava theyam, in Seevaga Chinthamani.[10]

REVENUE AND TAXES :

Pallavas country was divided as Rashtra, Kottam, Kurram and Nadu and Villages were called as Ur, Brahma Deya, Devadana and Pallichanda. The Pallavas had a council of ministers and officials who were called as Aulum ganathar and Amirthaganathar. The treasury was called as 'Sri Pandara' and the official was called as Kosa Adhyaksha. In order to look after the welfare of the people, five variyams were constituted and they were Eri Variyam, Pancha Variyam, Samvatsava Variyam, Thotta Variyam and Pon Variyam. Every village in Pallava country, was like a little republic. The affairs and of power were de-centralised and self-sufficiency or close economy prevailed in every village republic.[10a]

The officials were given in kind as salary and land grant were also given for their services.

Income : (1) According to Periyapuranam "gold, gems, cattle wealth, horses and captured wealth of foes, were stored in the kings treasury.[11]

(2) Traders also were expected to remit 'Sunga' either in cash or kind.

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[9] *Agannanuru Poem No. 34—Line 6-7.*

[10] *Thiruthaka Deva—Seevaga Chinthamani—Verse No.* 1185.

[10a] *See Appendix No. 2 for details of Revenue and Taxation.*

[11] *Sekilar—Periya Puranam—Siru Thondar Puranam—Verse No.* 6.

(3) Agricultural tax were levied according to the fertility of the land and the farmers were to remit the tax either in Nellayam or cash (Kanam).

(4) The maximum revenue was received from the export of clothes. According to Dr. Meenakshi, the Pallava treasury was capable of meeting all the expenditure items in the day today, affairs.[12] We have also some literary evidences regarding the treasury during medieval period.[13]

The Cheras, Cholas and the Pandyas accepted Narasimhavarman, alias Rajasimha's supremacy.

From Periyapuranam, we learn the functioning of the treasuries of the Pallavas.

THE DIFFERENT TAXES :

Thandan Thottam Copper plates, Kasakudi copper plates, give us much information about the taxes levied on professionals and various arts and crafts technicians by Pallavas. More than 55 items of taxes were levied and collected.[14] The taxes were remitted either in cash or kind in the village treasury.[15] In trade centres and Emporium in towns, the merchants had to pay Central tax (Kuram and Sinhavarman vizavetti copper plates reference).

Agriculture : The Pallava kings in the beginning converted the forests into cultivable lands.[16] The Pallava kings, in order to raise the yield of rain fed lands, improved the irrigation system by the construction of tanks and canals.

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[12] *Dr. Meenakshi, "Administration and Social life under Pallavas"*—1977.

[13] *Sekilar—Periya Puranam—Kalarirru Arivar Puranam—Verses* 161 *and* 162.

[14] *"Kaiyedu" II International Manattu Malar*—1968.

[15] *Hiraghadahalli Copper plates.*

[16] *E.I.V.I. No.* 86; *Hiraghadahalli Copper Plates.*

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES :

Land Survey :

In order to improve the agricultural system lands were surveyed and fence was errected around the field. Huvan Sang, the Chinese traveller, and Pallan Kovil Copper plates, praise the irrigated land welath of Pallava country and Chola country.

Land Measures : (Linear measures)

The following four types of land measures viz., Kalappai, Nirvathanam, Pattika and Padakam were in vogue. In measuring lands Kol and rods of different sizes were used as evidences by the mention of Nalu Sankol, Panniru San Kol etc.,

Volume Measure :

To measure oil, ghee and milk a small volume by name " Pidi " was used.

To measure paddy and grains different volume measures like Sodu, Nali, Marakkal, Padakku, Kuruni, Kadi and Kalam were used.

Weights :

Kalanju and Manjadi were the normal weights used for weighing ornaments, the former exclusively for gold. 1/20 of a Kalanju was called as Manjadi.[17] For one Kalanju Pon, One Manjadi Pon was collected as interest. One Manjadi was the unit of weight (in Southern area).

Table Weight equivalents :

One grain = .065 grains
15.38 grains = 1 grain
1. One Black gram = 65 mg. or 1 grain
2. One Kunri (Red black seed) = 130 mg.
3. Two Kunri = 1 Manjadi
4. 3¾ Kunri = 1 Panavidai or 488 mg.
5. 6 Kunri = 1 Masa (780 mg.)
6. 32 Kunri = 3.5 gram (Varahan)
7. 40 Kunri = 1 Kalanju (4.4 gram)

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[17] *Weights and Measures—by S. Hariharan, M.A.—Tamil Nadu Mavatta Varalaru Malar*, 1977.

PALLAVAS COINS OF KANCHI :

Pallavas Royal Emblem :

From the seal punched on the Pallava copper plates obtained, we infer the bull and lion as Pallava emblem.

Kanchi Excavation : We have seen earlier that eight lead coins with bull emblem were excavated at Kanchi.[18]

According to Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The coinage of the country was not profuse :

(*a*) Bartening in kind was not difficult.

(*b*) Payment in kind besides being easy, avoided much complication in all early societies. Roman coins appear to have formed the currency of South India for centuries. Natural economy continued to exist till a very late period, with money economy simultaneously ".[19]

From 7th to 9th Century A.D. Tamil inscriptions of later Pallava kings, make frequent references to Pon, Kanam (Palangasu or Porkasu), Thulaippon and Videlvidugupon.[20]

Mint : (அக்க சாலை) Coins minting place was called as அக்க சாலை, டங்க சாலை, கம்பட்டம்-in Tamil language.[21] In olden days, the coins were minted in Akkasalai and issued for religious and for commercial transactions.[22]

We have got ample evidences in Buddhaghosa (5th Century A.D.) and Kaudila's Arthasastra, to show how coins were minted and issued for transactions. The Acarya is mint master, a goldsmith, who was responsible for minting.

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[18] *Dr. K. V. Raman, "Pallavas Coins at Kanchi" J.N.S.I. Vol. XXXI, pp.* 185-186—1969.

[19] *K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Cholas', p.* 377—1975.

[20] *"Thellaru Erinda Nandivarman....
Arupathu Palankasu Kuduthu...." Nandivarman III grant to Sabha Rieshvara Temple; Epigraphica, Vol. XX, p.* 52.

[21] *Silambu*—16 *Kathai, Line* 125 (*Arumpathakarar commentary*).

[22] 6*th Century A.D., "Vahalakad inscription" by H.N. Kandiya ed. in 5th International Seminar—Tamil Malar—Madura*—1981.

In Nandikalampakam we have evidences regarding the Pallava Crest Bull and Lion in the verses 13 and 59 as

''விடை மண்பொறி யோலை விடேல் விடுகு'' 13
''மல்கு வெண்குடைப் பல்லவர் கோளரி'' 59

Metals and Coins:

From the collection of Pallava coins, so far obtained, we can say, the Pallavas issued coins of debased gold, electrum silver, copper, and lead. The chemical analysis are not carried out. Specific gravity measurement[23] and other physical examinations reveal that the Pallavas were using gold, silver, copper and lead as alloys in minting coins.

All most all the coins are circular and they are mostly dye-struck and some are cast coins.

None of the gold and silver coins issued were cent per cent pure. They are debased coins.

There is a reference in Periyapuranam that during the period of Appar and Sambandar, both pure and debased gold coins were in use.[24]

''கருதிய எல்லாம் கொள்ள வேண்டிச் சென்றால்
காசுகளை வாசிபட வேண்டும் என்பார்''

''நற்காசு கொண்டு மாந்தர் பெயர்ந்து போய்
ஆவண வீதியிற்காட்ட - அருவிலையிற் பெருங்காசு
அவைபோக
நற்றவத்தீர் இக்காசு சாலநன்று வேண்டுவன
நாந்தருவோம்''

We can say the following reasons for issuing the debased coins :

(1) Constant war with Chalukyas, the foreign trade was affected and so money transaction was reduced.

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[23] *Specific gravity measurements were done by Prof. Dr. K.R. Paramasivam, C. N. College, Erode.*

[24] *Sekilar—Periyapuranam—Verses* 568-570.

(2) From South East Asian countries, the incoming of gold was stopped as they themselves manufactured sugar and cloth which they were getting from Pallava country in exchange with gold.

(3) Speaking on the problem of early medieval coins in Karnataka or in South India, Professor Dr. A. Narasimha Murthy, observes that 'the Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas who were a powerful dynasties, have not contributed coins proportionate to their greatness'.[25]

(4) They followed the predecessors Sathavahanas in issuing debased coins.

Value of Coins : From the inscriptions of Pallava period, available, we may say,

(1) For one perpetual lamp, an endowment of 30 Kalanju Pon was paid.

(2) The cost of a Cow was 1 Kalanju Pon.

(3) The cost of a Sheep was 1/3 Kalanju Pon.

Technique of Minting : The survey and physical examination of the Pallava coin collected reveal that the coin might have been minted by three ways : They are, (1) Punched Coins, (2) Dis-struck Coins, (3) Cast Coins.

Descriptions of the Coins : Obverse of Bull type coin : (1) Couchant or humbed Bull facing right or left. (2) Bull above script or legend. (3) Bull with only symbols such as Sun, Moon, Swastika or Conch and wayvy line.

Reverse of Bull Type Coins : We can see more than 20 symbols or motifs are portrayed in the reverse of Bull type coin. The following motifs are in the reverse : (1) Srivatsa, (2) Chakra (Wheel), (3) Swastika, (4) Padma, (5) Sanka or Conch, (6) Purna Ghata, (7) Matsya (Single or Double), (8) Stupha, (9) Bodhi tree, (10) Kalpaka Viruksbya, (11) Cross, (12) Lion (or) Tiger, (13) Arrow or Linga, (14) Tortoise, (15) Dhoni (Boat), (16) Ship, (17) Two Chowries, (18) State or Royal Umbrella, (19) Mukudai, (20) Elephant.

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[25] *Karnataka's ancient Trade Link—The Hindu issue—Friday—dated 27th* December 1985.

PALLAVA COINS WITH LEGENDS :

The Pallava grantha script is found on the obverse side except few on the reverse side. The studies so far made have revealed that the following kingsissued coins, (1) Mahendravarman, (2) Narasimhavarman, (3) Rajasimha, (4) Paramesvara, (5) Nandhivarman. The deceifered legends are as follows : (1) Khada Chitra, (2) Sree Bhara, (3) Sree Nidni, (4) Vabu or Vidhi, (5) Manabhara, (6) Lakshita, (7) Sri Sri, (8) Sri Paramesvara• Even though the legends on the coins, are deciphered,[26] there are differences of opinion over the matter deciphered. Further studies should be done for proper decipherment of the script and the kings who issued the coins.[26a]

METROLOGY OF PALLAVA COINS :

Measurement such as diametre, thickness and weight, specific gravity were taken and are tabulated.[27] The specific gravity of coins reveal that none of the coins is made out of alloys. Non destructive analysis of the coins will reveal the metal composition of the coin. A separate statement of Pallava coins is attached separately.

PALLAVAS TRADE :

The wealth of a nation depends upon the growth of Agriculture and Trade[27a]

Pre-Pallava Trade : There are references in Greek periplus about the maritime trade with India.[28] This is confirmed by

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[26] *Thiru Karunanandam, M.A., Thiru Poongunran, M.A., Archaelogy Department, deciphered the name of coins.*

[26a] *See Appendix No. III for the list of Pallava Coins.*

[27] *V. Jayaraj, M.Sc., Curator, Govt. Museum, Periyar District.*

[27a] *See Appendix No. IV for details of Pallava Trade.*

[28] *K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India*—1939.

Sangam literature, Pattinapali,[29] Perumpanarrupadai[30], Akananuru[31] and Purananuru[32]. This is also confirmed by the Byzantine empire coins attained in the excavation at Akkai in Karnataka State[33] and Arikkamedu in Tamil Nadu.[34]

Commercial Contact with South East Asia :

Sir Walter Elliot in his book refers the maritime trade of Pallavas with South East Asia. The Chinese Travellers Yuvan Tsang and Itsing, in their travellogue mentioned about sea ports of Pallavas, Kanji Mallai, Nagai, Mylapore, Ealam.[36]

The eminent scholar Indrapala, mentions in his articles on ' Trade route ' that Pallava grantha inscription on stone belonging to 4th Century A.D. tells bearing the name of the King Moolavarman ([illegible]) at Thailand reveals the contact of the Pallavas.[37]

A group of Tamil traders called " Manigramathar " from Tamil land, during Nandivarma Pallava III, stationed at Saiam country and constructed a tank and erected an inscription which states the name of their king by name "Avani Naranan" (அவனி நாராணன்),. This inscription was found at 'Tagupa' in Saiam (Dr. T. V. Mahalingam..Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History—1967, pp. 208-210).

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29. *Pattinappalai—Lines* 190-196.

30. *Perumpanarrupadai—Lines* 320-336.

31. *Akananuru*: 149/7-11.

32. *Purananuru*: 343.

33. *"The fact that Roman trade with Karnataka of South India did not cease with the death of Nero, is confined by the reported find of* 43 *Byzantine gold coins...." Hindu—Report Dec.* 27, 1985.

34. *Ancient India*—1946, *pp.* 18-24.

35. *Coins of Southern India*—1975, *p.* 35.

36. *K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "Foreign Notices of South India*—1939—*pp.* 106-112.

37. *Sri Indrappala, "PERUM VANIGA VAZHIGAL—", P. II and III. The UNESCO Courier, August,* 1986.

Nandikalampakam, clearly states the Nandivarma Pallava as Avaninaranan. We find on two silver coins the motifs of 'Boat' and on one copper coin the device of ship are found. These confirms that the Pallavas had maritime contact with the foreign countries as well as internal trade through river routes. From the above points we may say that the trade was at its zenith during the reign of Nandivarman Pallava III.

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF KANCHI PALLAVAS :

The Russian author in the book, "A History of India" Book-I has states as follows : "As early as the seventh century A.D., a feudal relation, started to take root in this part of the country."[38]

The copper plates of the Pallavas, obtained at Hiraghada-halli, Kasagudi, Pullalur, Thandonthottam, Velurpalayam and Vizhavetti clearly explain about the affairs of the various village republics and the powers vested to the sabohas and temple authorities.

The villages consisted of artisans like weavers, potters, farmers, metal smiths, carpenters, masons etc., to make the villages self-sufficient in other words closed economy. Since the artisans were paid in kind, and there were constant war with Chalukyas and due to famine and because of decline of foreign trade, money transaction was limited.

"According to Gresham's Law,[39] the gold coins issued were hoarded by the people and were used for ornaments. From this we may assume we are not able to get pure gold coins issued by the Pallavas.

Originally under barter system Goods were exchanged for goods.

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[38] *A History of India, Book I—Progress Publishers, Moscow,* 1977, *p.* 133.

[39] *Gresham's Law", Bad Money drives good money out of circulation"—i.e., Silver and Copper coins probably have sent gold coins out of circulation.*

Introduction of money (money economy) increased the velocity of circulation of goods and services. This may lead to the rise in the standard of living of people. Once money was introduced and people felt the increasing demand for goods and services, there arose an increased demand for money. Hence, to facilitate exchange of goods and services cheap metals were used in the preparation of coins. From the above economic point, we have to infer that Pallava kings[39a] issued coins, silver, copper and lead coins.

[39a] *See Appendix V the Chronology of Pallava Kings.*

HISTORICAL AND OTHER DETAILS OF KANCHI PALLAVA COINS

Sl. No.	Location	Coin Type	Shape	Metals	Size		Weight
					Dia.	Thickness	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		(7)
1.	Trichi	Script Coin	Round	Gold	1.58 cm	0.2 cm	3.80 gm
2.	Trichi	Bull type	,,	Gold	1.25 cm	0.195 cm	1.59 gm
3.	Mahabalipuram	Bull	,,	Silver	1.9 cm	0.16 cm	3.06 gm
4.	Nellur	,,	,,	,,	1.8 cm	0.187 cm	2.98 gm
5.	Thirukoilur	,,	,,	,,	1.72 cm	0.142 cm	1.61 gm
6.	,,	,,	,,	,,	2.2 cm	0.21 cm	2.17 gm
7.	Madurai	,,	,,	,,	..	0.23 cm	1.83 gm

App. date / Ruler (8)	Obverse (9)	Reverse (10)	Symbols etc. (11)	Fabrication Technique (12)	Sp. Gravity (13)	Possible metal comp. (14)
Sri Parameswara	Legend	Eroded	..	Dye-struck	8.3	
..	Bull	Eroded	..	,,	10.59	
Nandhi Varman III	Bull	Boat	..	Cast	7.85	
,,	Bull	,,	..	Cast	4.4	
,,	Bull	Conch	..	Punch	8.9	Coin broken
..	Bull with Legend	Chowri	..	Dye-struck	5.3	,,
Early Pallava	Bull	Kalasam with two lamps	Eroded symbols	,,	7.32	,,

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		(6)	(7)
8.	Thirukoilur	Bull	Round	Silver	..	0.24 cm	1.83 gm
9.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.3 cm	0.12 cm	1 gm
10.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.8 cm	0.13 cm	2 gm
11.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.75 cm	0.125 cm	2.2 gm
12.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.85 cm	0.133 cm	2.5 gm
13.	Nellore	,,	,,	Lead	1.94 cm	0.232 cm	5.74 gm
14.	Thirukoilur	,,	,,	,,	2.11 cm	0.23 cm	5.5 gm
15.	Mahabalipuram	,,	,,	,,	1.94 cm	0.18 cm	3.2 gm
16.	Thirukoilur	,,	,,	,,	1.25 cm	0.105 cm	5.5 gm

(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Rajasimha	Bullwith Lagend	Mukkudai	..	Dye-struck	7.6	Coin broken
..	Bull	Chakkaram (Wheel)	..	,,	10	,,
Rajasimha	,,	Eroded	Linga	,,	5.9	,,
Mahendran	,,	Swasthik	Sun, Moon, Conch	,,	4.82	,,
,,	,,	,,	Wavyline	,,	9.9	,,
Early Pallava	,,	Kalasam Conch within Solar rays	Wavyline Sun, Moon Triratna	,,	9.1	,,
Nandhi Varma III	,,	Conch	Star, Moon Triratna	,,	8.8	,,
Rajasimha	,,	Ship	..	,,	3.2	,,
..	,,	Chakkaram	..	,,	9.8	,,

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		(7)
17.	,,	Bull	Round	Copper	1.95 cm	0.187 cm	3 gm
18.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.86 cm	0.12 cm	3.6 gm
						0.16 cm	1.9 gm

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		(7)
2 17.	,,	Bull	Round	Copper	1.95 cm	0.187 cm	3 gm
18.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.86 cm	0.12 cm	3.6 gm
19.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.7 cm	0.16 cm	1.9 gm
20.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.85 cm	0.11 cm	1.6 gm
21.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.5 cm	0.18 cm	2.6 gm
22.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.6 cm	0.15 cm	2.3 gm
23.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.5 cm	0.2 cm	2.4 gm
24.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.38 cm	0.17 cm	1.3 gm
25.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.7 cm	0.11 cm	1.36 gm

(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Early Pallava	Bull	Tree	Star, Moon Triratna	Dye-struck	9.3	Cracked
..	,,	Karpaga Vruksha	..	Cast	9.1	,,
..	,,	Srivatsam	Wavyline Triratna	Dye-struck	8.2	Broken
..	,,	Chakkaram	Wavyline Conch	Punched	10.8	,,
Nandhi Varman	Bull with Legend	Conch	..	Dye-struck	9.9	,,
..	Bull	Doule Chakka ram with lamps	..	,,	8.6	,,
..	,,	Single Umbrella	Eroded	,,	2.56	,,
..	Bull with Legend	Lotous	..	,,	8.3	,,
Rajasimha	Bull	Pictorial letter	Sunwavy line	,,	8.43	,,

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(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		(7)
26.	,,	..	Bull	Round	Copper	1.6 cm	0.15 cm	2.3 gm
				,,	,,	1.2 cm	0.17 cm	1.5 gm

	Legend			,,	8.3	,,
Rajasimha	Bull	Pictorial letter	Sunwavy line	,,	8.43	,,

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		(7)
26.	,,	Bull	Round	Copper	1.6 cm	0.15 cm	2.3 gm
27.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.2 cm	0.17 cm	1.5 gm
28.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.2 cm	0.15 cm	0.9 gm
29.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1.0 cm	0.24 cm	1.27 gm
30.	Thirukoilur	,,	,,	,,	11 cm	0.23 cm	0.94 gm
31.	Madurai	,,	,,	,,	1.5 cm	0.39 cm	2.5 gm
32.	(1) Thirukoilur	,,	,,	,,	..	0.13 cm	1.39 gm
	(2) ,,	,,	,,	,,	..	0.18 cm	1.0 gm
	(3) ,,	,,	,,	,,	..	0.16 cm	0.94 gm
	(4) ,,	,,	,,	,,	..	0.13 cm	1.4 gm
	(5) ,,	,,	,,	,,	..	0.132 cm	0.77 gm
	(6) ,,	,,	,,	,,	..	0.085 cm	0.42 gm
	(7) ,,	,,	,,	,,	..	0.08 cm	0.3 gm
33.	,,	,,	,,	,,	..	0.08 cm	0.27 gm

(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Narasimha I	Bull with Legend	Pictorial letter	Conch	Dye-struck	7.6	Broken
Mahendra	,,	..	Double fish Vertcal	,,	10	..
Nandhi Varman	,,	..	Solar rays	,,	8.2	..
Rajasimha	,,	..	Lion or Tiger	,,	7.47	..
Rajasimhan	Bull	Sun, Moon	Linga with lamps	,,	6.2	..
Narasimha Varman	Bull (Thick)	..	Kalasa with lamp	,,	5.2	..
,,	,,	..	Wheels	,,	..	..
,,	,,	..	..	,,	..	..
,,	,,	..	..	,,	..	..
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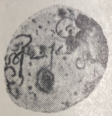

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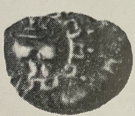

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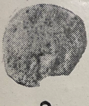

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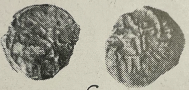

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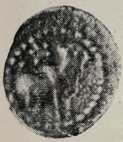

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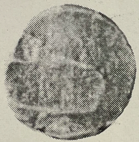

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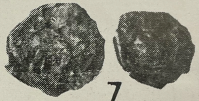

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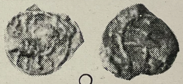

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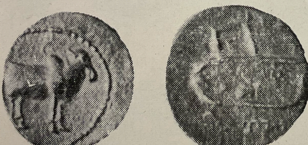

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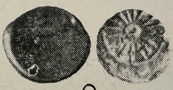

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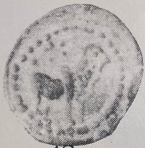

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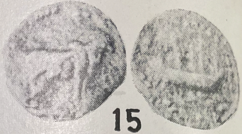

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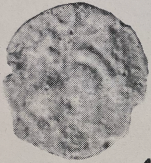

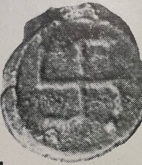

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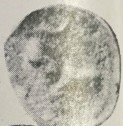

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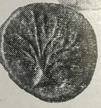

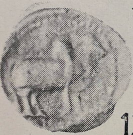

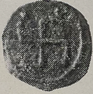

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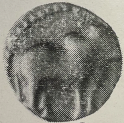

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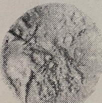

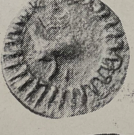

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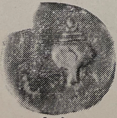

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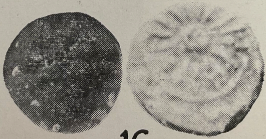

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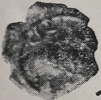

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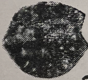

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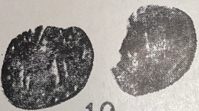

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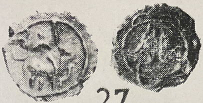

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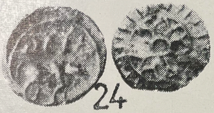

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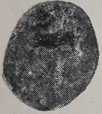

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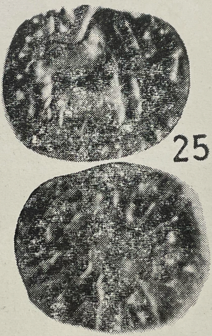

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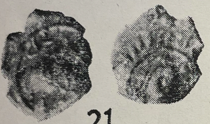

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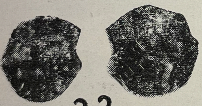

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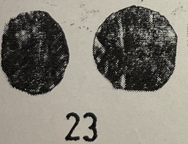

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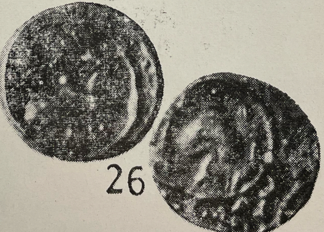

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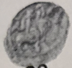
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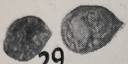
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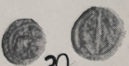
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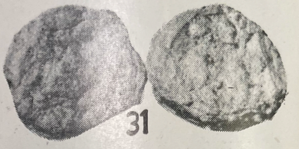
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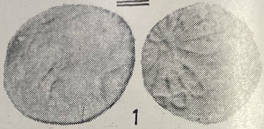
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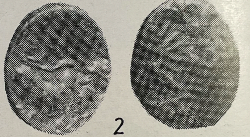
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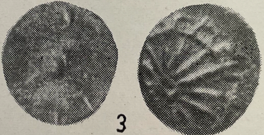
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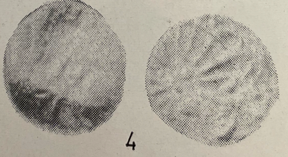
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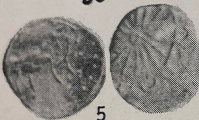
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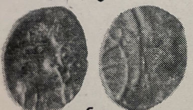
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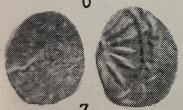
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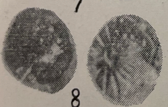
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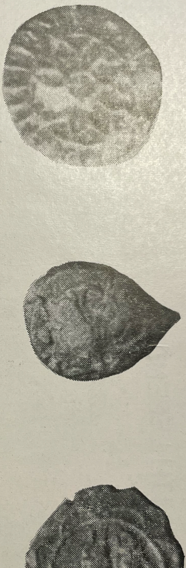
BULL WITH SYMBOLS

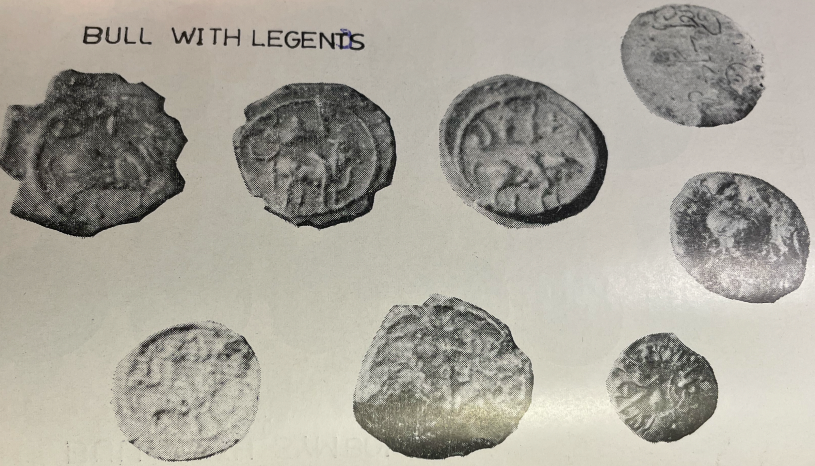
DIFFERENT MOTIFS

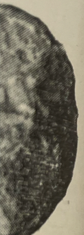
↓



BULL WITH SYMBOLS
↑

BULL WITH LEGENTS





Appendix 1

PALLAVA COINS AT KANCHI

In spite of the discovery of numerous hoards of coins in different parts of the Tamil country from time to time there are still many blanks in the history of South Indian numismatics. The early periods of the Chola and the Pallava history suffer from the dearth of numismatic evidence though some finds in recent years have thrown some welcome light. The discovery of the square copper coins in the excavations of Kaveripumpattinam (Thanjavur District), for instance, has given us a glimpse into the coinage of the Early Cholas.[1] These coins bear on one side the redoubtable tiger, the royal crest of the Cholas with an uplifted tail and a majestic elephant on the other. The elephant was accepted by many ruling dynasties like the Satavahanas, the Pandyas and others as a symbol of royal might. These coins were obtained in a level datable to not later than the second century A.D., when the early Chola power was at its height at Kaveripumpattinam. Similar square or rectangular coins of the Pandyas or probably of the same period have been found in the Vaigai bed at Madurai and elsewhere in the Pandyan country. They bear on one side their crest, viz., the double-fish and on the other an elephant surrounded by the *ashtamanglas* or the eight auspicious symbols. The recent important discovery of the coins of the Chengam hoards with early Tamil script has further widened our horizon in this sphere.

But curiously, for the subsequent period, *i.e.*, the Pallava epoch, not even this scrappy information had so far been available. The Pallavas were one of the major ruling dynasties of the Tamil country who held sway for well over five centuries from fourth to ninth century A.D. While almost all of their religious edifices and many of their admirable copper plate charters have come down to us, we know, next to nothing, about the coins issued by them. Long back, Vincent Smith published one coin in his well-known book "*The Oxford History of India*"[1] and suggested that it might be that of the Pallavas as it bears a maned lion on one side and a *ghata* flanked by two lamp stands. But it has since been proved to be that of the Vishnukundins with the help of the legend on it.[2] So, at present, there is practically not a single coin which can truly be identified as that of the Pallavas.

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[1] *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1961-62, *plate XLV—A.*

But, in the recent excavations done at Kanchi by the Southern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, some eight lead coins have been unearthed which appear to be those of the early Pallavas.[3] They were found about 10 or 12 feet below the present ground level in the strata that are posterior to the layers which yielded Satavahana coins. For the first time, coins belonging to the Satavahanas and the later periods, were found at Kanchi in well-stratified position. The Satavahana coins are of copper and they are very much corroded. Only the elephant emblem on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other are visible. One coin, however, bears the unmistakable legend '*Ruda-Satak*' or Rudra Satakarni, one of the last of the Satavahana monarchs who ruled in the beginning of the third century A.D. The presence of the Satavahana coins in the contemporary layers at Kanchi goes to confirm the already prevalent opinion among scholars that the Satavahana empire extended up to the Tondamandalam region. The Pallavas were feudatories of the Satavahanas who were first in charge of the south-eastern portion of the empire, just as the Abhiras were in charge of the north-west, or the Ikshvakus were in charge of the Andhra region. After the fall of the Satavahana empire, the feudatory powers became independent rulers at Kanchi from about the beginning of the fourth century A.D. and issued their copper plate charters. Stratigraphically, the eight lead coins **(Pl. III nos. 12-16)**[4] mentioned above are found in a deposit that is later than the Satavahana period and that falls well within the duration of the

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1. *V. Smith, The Oxford History of India, p.* 207.
2. *R. Subrahmanyam, The Tundi Copper Plate Grant of Vishnukundin King Vikramendravarma* (1962), *p.* 45-46.
3. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1962-63, *p.* 12, *pl. XXXIX-B.*
4. *Only five coins are illustrated here; the rest three are highly defaced.*
—Editor

Pallava rule. Secondly, the use of the soft metal-lead-as the material for marking coins was in keeping with the practice of the times. The coins of the Vishnukundins and the Ikshvakus are also made of lead. Therefore, it is not unlikely that the Pallava coins, at least the earlier series, should also have been made of lead.

The third significant point in these coins is the depiction of the bull on one side. It is well-known that the Pallavas had the *Rishabha* or the bull as their royal crest just as the Cholas had the tiger and the Pandyas had the fish. Their predilection in portraying the bull in all their seals attached to the copper plates and also in the sculpture is too well-known.

The style of the bull on the coins agrees admirably with that found on their seals too.[1] Unfortunately, the coins are completely obliterated, and no legends are visible; but the bull standing and facing to its left in all the coins is quite clear. The bull is placed within a dotted circle. There is a small symbol like the *Srivatsa* or the *Nandipada* over the bull just as the one found in the Pallava seals.

So, taking into account all these circumstantial evidences viz., the presence of the coins in the post-Satavahana layers, the use of lead as the material for the coinage and the imprinting of the *Rishabha*, which was the *lanchhana* of the Pallavas, may enable us to identify these coins at least tentatively as those of the Pallavas and in all likelihood belonging to the fifth or sixth century A.D.

K. V. RAMAN

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[1] *For instance compare the seal of the Pallankoil copper plate illustrated by T. N. Subramaniam in Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India.*

Appendix 2

TAXATION AND REVENUE

Taxation and revenue.—From these we shall now proceed to the sources of taxation in the Pallava age that are mentioned in the records of the Pallava kings. We have no direct evidence of central or local finance during the early Chola or Pallava times as none of the large number of records that have come down to us were intended to set forth exhaustively the financial machinery for the enlightenment of the modern scholar; we can however infer from the list of exemptions stated in the various records of lands and other grants at our disposal what taxes and dues a village was ordinarily subjected to if it was other than a land gifted to Brahmans or a temple in which case the exemptions were secured to the donee. First may be noted some of the seignorial rights mentioned in the earliest Pallava copper-plate charters. The Hirahadagalli plates already mentioned are very interesting in this respect. This record states that the garden Chillerakodumka the object of the grant is to be free from the taking of sweet and sour milk and sugar .... from taxes.... forced labour free from the payment of the oxen in succession, free from the taking of grass and the wood.... from the taking of vegetables and flowers.... It also mentions the important particular towards the close of the grant where it says that with these and other immunities of the eighteen kinds it must be exempted. It is thus clear from this early Pallava record that about the first quarter of the third century Pallava kings had laid claim to not less than eighteen[1] kinds of dues from the villagers (*Ashtadasapariharas*) which they ordinarily could claim except in cases of gifted lands. The Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman[1] mentions among the immunities secured for the village of Viripara which was the object of the grant, freedom for the diggings of salt which shows that salt-manufacture was a royal monopoly, from the supply of bullocks in succession, the entrance of soldiers, the supply of boiled rice, etc. As we do not come across with some of these rights in the later records of the Pallavas it is probable that some of these rights fell out of use.

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[1] *It is important to note that these were not at all in the nature of taxes but more of free-will offerings of fruits by gardeners to kings and of supplies of means of transport to royal officers while on tour. Mr. Longhurst is therefore wrong when he remarks on this that ' it is thus obvious that the people were liable to all these taxes and imposts on the ordinary necessaries of life,' and that it clearly shows that in the fourth century at any rate there was no 'Golden Age' in Southern India.* (*An. Rep. of the Arch. Dept. of Southern Circle* 1918-1919, *Part II, p.* 21.)

Passing on from the days of the early Pallavas to that of the later Pallavas, we notice in the Sanskrit charters of Paramesvaravarman I, Nandivarman Pallavamalla and that of his grandson Nandivarman III more details regarding the rights of the Pallava kings of the period to other items of taxes and duties, are available. From a study of the Tamil portions of the Kasakkudi, Kuram, the Tandantottam, Velurpalayam and the Bahur plates we learn that during this period there were, what have been called profession-taxes but are really excise on local products, on oil mill-owners, potters, goldsmiths, toddy, drawers, as well as duties on arecanuts exposed for sale and sold in the markets, duty on looms, presents on the occasion of new marriages and royalty on the manufacture of salt. Some of these such as the Ilamputchi[2] and Puthali are inexplicable. Good specimens of this royal exemption order are contained in the Tamil portion of the Tandantottam plates dated in the fifty-eighth year of Nandivarman II-Pallavamalla: the immunities evidently indicate some of the taxes which were customary :—

'No tax of any kind such as duty on oil-press and looms, *Ulaviyakuli*, the fee on marriages, *urettu*, fee on potters, *tattukayam*, duty on toddy-drawers and shepherds, fee on stalls, brokerage fee, *tirumugakkanam*, royalty' paid for the manufacture of salt, the good cow, the good bull, *vattinali*, fee on basket of grain exposed for sale in the market, arecanuts exposed for sale in the shops, *Budanali*, and others which the king could take and enjoy. Damanagam may be planted; mansions and large edifices may be built of burnt bricks; reservoirs and wells may be sunk; cocoanut trees may be planted in groves; and large oil-presses may be used....[1]

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[1] *Ep. Ind., vol. vi, pp. 88 ff.*

[2] *Of these terms some are obscure. Putchi seems to mean a kind of due and Ilamputchi might mean a duty on Ilavar or tdday drawers. Tirumugakkanam apparently means a fee for the messenger bringing royal messages or orders. Ulaviyakkuli has been taken to mean the hire for well-diggers. The terms putali kannittukanam. arikoli, nedum pari and urettu are not clear.*

The emperor in these records is called Maharaja and Dharmamaharaja. In the Gupta inscriptions of North India also, the emperor is called Maharajadhiraja and Paramesvara. In the Gupta Government the emperor is the centre of a group of subordinate kings. The territory of the empire was called a *Rajya* in the Gupta inscriptions as well as *Rashtra*, and *Desa* and *Mandala* which occur also in the Pallava inscriptions. The territories in the Pallava Empire are divided in the records into Kottams and Nadus on the lines of the Gupta administration where they are similarly divided into *Bhukti*, *Vishaya*, and *Grama*. There is a close resemblance between the sources of taxation and revenue between the early Pallava records and Gupta inscriptions. These may be gathered from the inscriptions recording various grants. These include several items such as Uparikara, Vata Bhuta, Hiranya, Adeya, etc. Several of the Gupta inscriptions as well as Pallava inscriptions indicate negatively the obligations imposed by the state. Several of the *Gupta Inscriptions*, may be compared with portions of the Pallava records dealing with exemption from taxes.[2]

About the beginning of the ninth century stone inscriptions of the Pallavas become abundant and in these we find interesting particulars of the activity of the village *Sabhas* all over the empire particularly in the Chingleput District. A perusal of the

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1. *S.I.I., vol, ii, pp.* 530-31.

2. *It (the village rendered free) is not to pay taxes; it is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella bearers; it does not carry with it the right to cows and bulls in succession of production, or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state* .... (*F.G.I., p.* 242).

stone records of this period relating to these dated in the years of the later Pallava kings, Nandivarman II, Dantivarman, Nandivarman III and Aparajita shows that the following figure among the large numbers of places that enjoyed self-governing village *Sabhas*: Adambakkam, Avaninarayanachaturvedimangalam (Kaveripakkam), Manali, Tiruvorriyur, Kuram, Perumunaiyur, Tiruviprambedu, Anbil Venkunram, Uttaramallur, Perunguli, Tirukoilur, and Ukkal. An account of the activities of these village assemblies in repairing tanks, accepting deposits for charitable purposes and other works has come down to us.

The Assemblies—Though we know the existence of the village assemblies in the various parts of the Pallava empire we do not know the nature of the rules that regulated their constitution and working, their exact sphere of action and the relation of this to the central government. Inscriptions copied in the Chingleput District alone indicate that during the ninth century different types of village assemblies carried on their work. One of the most important of these was called the *Sabha*. These were usually to be found in Brahmadeya villages granted to the Brahmanas and therefore were almost entirely run by the Brahmans. The rules laid down in the Uttaramallur inscription[1] for the membership of the village assemblies applies in all probability to such *Sabhas*. A recently discovered inscription[2] dated in the thirty-first year of Maransadaiyan throws some light on some of the rules of membership of the village *Sabhas* which differ from all those known till now. (i) It is stated in this record that of the children of the shareholders in the villages, only one who is well versed in the *Mantra-Brahmana* and one *Dharma*, and well-behaved, may be on the village assembly and only one of similar qualifications may be in the assembly for a share purchased received as present, or acquired by him as *Stridhana*; (ii) that shares purchased, presented, or acquired as *Stridhana* could entile one if at all, only to a full membership in the assembly, and in no case will quarter or half or three-quarter of the membership be recognized; (iii) that those who purchase shares should elect only such men to represent their share in the assembly as have critically studied a whole *Veda* with their *parisishtas*; (iv) that those who do not possess full membership as laid down by Rule II cannot stand on any committee for the management of the village affairs; (v) that those who satisfy the prescribed conditions should in no case persistently oppose the proceedings of the assembly, by saying nay, nay, to every proposal brought up before the assembly; (vi) those who do this together with their supporters will pay a fine[1] of five *kasu* on each item in which they have so behaved and still continue to submit to the same rules.[2]

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[1] *A.S.R., for* 1904-5, *pp.* 13-145. [2] *M.E.R. for* 1913, *para* 23.

The activities of the *Sabhas* were varied in character and they dealt with all important aspects of village life. From the Pallava inscriptions alone we gather that these *Sabhas* looked after the temple and its administration, and received the endowments made on behalf of temple services. In addition to this many of these *Sabhas* looked after the supervision and repairs to the village tanks which were brought into existence with considerable labour at the instance of the Pallava kings. Some of these immense irrigational tanks which must have engaged the skilled labour of a vast body of men have survived to our own times. These include, the Paramesvara Tataka in Kuram near Kanchipuram, the Mahendra Tataka in Mahendravadi not far from Arkonam, Tirayaneri, Vayiramega Tataka in Uttaramallur, in the Madurantakam Taluk, Chitramegha Tataka, Velleri and probably the large tank at Mamandur which now irrigates a large area. The irrigation channels figuring in the Pallava inscriptions include the Perumbidugu Vaykkal, the channel cut from the Palar to Kuram and the Vayiramega Vaykkal, both of which probably owe their origin to the Pallava kings bearing these surnames. The supervision and upkeep of these tanks and channels must have entailed a great deal of labour and attention on the part of the village *Sabhas* many of which had a separate Tank Supervision Committee as is clear from one of the later inscriptions.[1] The great tank at Uttaramallur owes its origin to one of the Pallava kings named Vayiramegan and figures frequently in the inscriptions relating to the activities of the Uttaramallur *Sabha* during the reign of Dantivarman and Vijaya Kampavarman.[2]

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[1] *The last provision is rather ingenious in as much as it shows that as early as the ninth century the necessity to deal with the refractory and obstructionist tactics had been felt though the safeguard does not appeal to the modern mind.*

[2] *Fuller details are available in Chola inscriptions such as those of Parantaka and his successors when the village assemblies not only managed all local affairs such as the collection of revenue, upkeep of tanks and irrigation canals, administration of temples but also looked after the local judicial administration, the education religious and secular of the young as well as the adult,and maintenance of hospitals for the diseased. The principle of election and the ballot box became very popular and local administration was conducted very efficiently. The annual change of office-bearers in the various committees extended to every villager the opportunity of getting acquainted with practical administration.*

The other important work of the village *Sabhas* of the Pallava age was the management of temple property and service. The temple appears to have played an important role in the age of the Pallavas and must have attracted large numbers of people for various purposes. A close study of the inscriptions of this period shows that the Pallava kings took a great deal of interest in the building of these temples as well as their proper upkeep. These are scattered all over the Tamil districts, some of the most beautiful and important ones being found at the capital of the kingdom, Kanchipuram. The inscriptions at the Rajasimhesvara and at the Vaikuntaperumal temples bear ample testimony to the great devotion of the Pallava kings but details of their management in those days are not available. It is quite probable that their management was entrusted to the temple committee of the city council in the days of Rajasimha and Paramesvaravarman. In the actual management of the temple administration which involved the looking after of lands, appointment of contractors for the day-to-day supply of rice, ghee, flowers, etc., defalcations sometimes occurred even leading to the reduction in the actual offering to the deity. One such instance is recorded in the Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman, dated in the twelfth year of his reing.[1] The temple management (*kulankilar*) having mortgaged one of the temple fields in Kalumaracheri, the offering to the God fell short. This was restored however by the pious offices of one Pugaltunai-Vissiyarayan who redeemed the mortgaged field.

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[1] *No.* 84 *of* 1998, *dated in the twenty-first year of Kampavarman mentions the name of this Committee as the Eri-Variya-Perumakkal.*

[2] *Ep.Col., No.* 74 *of* 1898, *dated in the ninth year of Dantivarman; and Ep.Col., No.* 61 *of* 1898, *dated in the twenty-first year of the same king and Ep. Col., No..* 84 *of* 1898, *of Kampavarman.*

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[1] *Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman, Exp Ind., vol. viii, pp.* 291 *ff*.

Appendix 3

LIST OF PALLAVA COINS

IN THE

Government Central Museum, Madras

AND IN THE CABINET OF

DR. J. R. HENDERSON

The Government Central Museum, Madras

Dr. J. R. Henderson kindly placed at my disposal the coins in the Government Central Museum and those belonging to him to enable me to prepare these lists. The reading of the legends given by me is but tentative.

1. Obverse: Standing bull, facing the right, with legend above *Sri bhara*, the whole surrounded by a lined circle.	Reverse: Single fish perpendicular within an ornamented circle.
2. Obverse: Standing bull as No. 1 with legend above *Sri nidhi*. The whole within a lined circle.	Rev: Same as that of number 1.
3. Obv: Standing bull, above the bull is the legend *Sri nidhi*.	Rev: Tortoise within an ornamental circle.
4. Obv: Elephant left, with Nagari legend above; *Paka Deva*. This is not a Pallava coin.	Rev: Lion with trappings.
5. Obv: Standing bull right with legend above, *Sribhara*, all within a lined circle.	Rev: Four lined Chakram.
6. Obv: Same as last in bad preservation.	Rev: Four lined Chakram.
7. Obv: Same as last.	Do.

8. A broken piece, part of a larger coin.? Obv: Standing bull within lined circle, The Head and the devices above have disappeared with the broken portion.	Rev: *Chaitya* on a platform.
9. A well executed bull with legend *Sri nidhi*, all within a lined circle.	Rev: An eight limbed *chakram* within an ornamental circular enclosure. Of the two specimens in the cover, marked 9 one is duplicate of No. 8.
10. Obv: Bull right with legend above probably *Sri bhara.*	Rev: a sacrificial lamp with six arms flanked by a dagger on each side, all within a lined circle.
11. Same as last but badly worn.	Rev: Do.
12. Obv: Bull right within a lined circle with legend above indistinct.	Rev: a bow within a lined circle.
13. Same as No. 12, but with legend *Sri bhara.*	Rev: as on No. 12.
14. Obv: Bull right with legend *Sri nidhi.* ?	Rev: Single fish within concentric lined and ornamented circle.
15. Obv: Bull right within an ornamental circle.	Rev: Doubtful device which looks like a fish.
16. Obv: Standing Bull with legend above *Sri bhara.*	Rev: an altar within a lined circle.:
17. Obv: Standing bull right with legend indistinct.	Rev: An eight limbed Chakram within a circular ornamental border.
18. Thick coin. Obv: Standing bull right with legend above *manapara.*	Rev: The *chank* (turbinella rapa) on a pedestal within a rayed circle.

19. Obv: Standing bull right with emblems above.:	Rev: The State Umbrella within a rayed circle.
20. Broken piece. Obv: Bull within a rayed enclosure.	Rev: Two fishes, within a rayed circle.
21. Broken piece. Legend *Sri bhara* above what was possibly a bull.	Rev: an eight limbed *chakram.*
22. Obv: Bull with legend above *Sri bhara* badly worn.	Rev: Two *chowries* or batons crossed within an ornamental circle.
23. Obv: Bull right with legend above it, which is indistinct.	Rev: A *dagoba* within an ornamental circle.
24. Obv: Bull right with legend above *Srinidhi.*	Rev: A four limbed *chakram* within a rayed enclsorue with *chaitya* in the angles formed by the limbs of the *chakram.*
25. Obv: Bull right with legend above *Sri bhara.* All within a lined circle.	Rev: Eight limbed *chakram* within an ornamental circle.
26. Obv: Bull right with legend above.:	Rev: As in No. 22.
27. Obv: Bull right.	Rev: male and female figures within a rayed circle.
28. Obv: Bull right with legend *Sribha.* A fine specimen.	Rev: a *chaitya* within a circular ornamental enclosure.
29. Obv: Bull right, with doubtful legend above.	Rev: Same as No. 27.
30. Obv: Bull right with legend indistinct within a lined circle.	Rev: Horse or lion, within an ornamental enclosure.
31. Obv: Standing bull right with indistinct legend above.	Rev: Umbrella.
32. Obv: Same as No. 31.	Rev: a sixteen limbed Chakram.
33. Obv: Standing bull right.	Rev: Within a lined circle is a device like the Telugu letter Va.

Dr. J. R. Henderson

1. Silver. Obv: Rudely executed bull with legend above.	Rev: The *chakram.*
2. Silver. Obv: Bull right with legend above *Sribhara.*?	Rev: Do.
3. Obv: Bull right with legend above.	Rev: The *chank* within a lined circle.
4. Bull right with legend above *Srinidhi.*	Rev: Four limbed *chakram* with rays.
5. Obv: Bull right with legend above, the whole within a lined circle.	Rev: Two *chowries* crossed.
6. Obv: Bull—with doubtful devices or legend above.	Rev: The *Chaitya* within a lined circle.

Note.—Those which are not marked 'silver' are copper coins.

Appendix 4

PER-PALLAVA TRADE

IV:—ROMAN INTERCOURSE WITH SOUTHERN INDIA FROM THE FIRST CENTURY B. C. TO THE SIXTH CENTURY A.D.[1].

We now pass on to trace the relationship of the Pandyas with the civilised nations of the west especially with Rome, in the early centuries of the Christian era. As the records relating to the Pandya kings prior to the 6th century A.D. are completely wanting in their own country, we are obliged to look for information from external sources. The first in this direction is to be found in the writings of the Greek and Roman historians and geographers. The account which they have recorded is only second hand, having been obtained from the navigators of the ancient seas who could not have cared much for the accuracy of the information which they furnished to their countrymen at home. But in the absence of all other sources, they are entitled to a notice here. Except in rare instances of invasion by foreign aggressive sovereigns, Northern India had less opportunities of coming in contact with outside nations than the South which had several ancient ports regularly visited by ships from Greece, Egypt, Rome, Persia, Arabia and China. Egyptian sailors had the benefit of Indian trade up to the time of its conquest by Rome which took place during the reign of Augustus in about B.C. 30. Till then Rome had no direct communication with India but Indian products were received in Italy through Egypt. From the time of the first Roman Emperor, however, Roman vessels regularly touched the ports of Southern India for commercial purposes and more articles began to be carried to their country. This kind of busy intercourse between the two nations lasted till almost the beginning of the 6th century A.D., when the mighty Roman empire became a prey to the Teutonic races who established independent kingdoms in Italy and elsewhere. The abundant finds of gold and silver coins throughout Southern India of almost all the Roman Emperors from Augustus to Zeno furnish us with links with the past of a kind that we look for in which the written records of the East or the West. They afford conclusive proof of the long maintained commercial relationship between the two countries and supplement to a great extent the scraps of information supplied by the Roman historians. The principal ports of Southern India frequented by the Roman vessels are mentioned by the ancient geographers and Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai has identified them in his *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*. He was best fitted to do this both on account of his thorough mastery of the Tamil works and of his visit to almost all parts of the Presidency. We, therefore, omit to go over the same ground here. Tamil literature and Roman historians are at one in stating that in ancient times ships were propelled by the wind. *Maduraikkanchi* bas:—"Big ships with flying sails attached to long posts, propelled by the wind blowing on the sheets which became bent on that account, brought to the Pandiyan territory wealth-yielding articles of merchandise for cousumption by the people of the inland districts.' The following extract from a Roman historian confirms the statement herein made:—"Every year about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of an hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Mois Harmos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days to reach the ports of India or of Ceylon. The ships returned with rich cargo which, as soon as they were transported on the back of camels from the Red Sea to the Nile and descended the river as far as Alexandria, was poured without delay into the capital of the Roman empire." We are credibly informed that there was considerable demand in the western world for pepper, ginger, cinnamon and in short for the whole trible of aromatics. Besides, the fancy which the Romans had for diamonds, pearls, jewels and silk was so great that they were prepared to pay any price for them. Attracted by the hundredfold gain which trade with the east promised in those days, several people took to navigation, nothing daunted by the labour and risk involved in it. The articles enumerated above were mostly supplied by the Pandya and Chera territories which produced an abundance of them. Kumari, Korkai, Kayal and the Pamban yielded an enormous quality of pearls the sale of which and also some of the aromatics which were grown largely in the hills bordering the Travancore State, gave the Pandyas their wealth in ancient times. In the beginning of the Christian era the splendour of the oriental traffic loomed large in the eyes of the Romans themselves. In their estimation, pearl received the first rank after diamond. Roman women considered it a luxury to wear garments of silk a pound of which was obtained in exchange for a pound of gold. Jewels made of pearls and other precious gems were largely obtained from Southern India to satisfy the craving of the Roman ladies for ornaments which followed in the wake of the conquest of the east. We learn further that aromatics were largely used in religious worship, in funerals and in sharpening their palate even on ordinary occasions. The Pandya country was one among those which met the demand of the Romans in this direction. The Tamil classical works expressly state that pearls, jewels and aromatics were exported in large quantities from the Pandya territory.[1] The Romans set a very high value on beryl, a precious gem of sea-green colour exported from the beryl mines of Padiyur in the Coimbatore district, which even uas as late as 1819-20 supplied sixty *seers* of the gem valued at £ 1,200. These were probably exported from the ports of the western coast. As regards the drain on the Roman treasury, consequent on the craving of the times, we are informed that it was a complaint worthy of notice by the Senate that in the purchase of female ornaments the wealth of the state was irrecoverably given away to foreign nations. Pliny observes that the Indian commodities were sold at Rome at a hundred times their original price and he computes the annual loss at upwards of eight lakhs of pounds sterling. The loss of the one was a gain to the other. We thus get an idea of the profitable trade which Southern India kept up with Rome. If we could have a similiar statement respecting the annual trade amount of Egypt, Persia, Arabia and China with India, we could obtain a very fair estimate of the gain which Southern India derived by its commercial intercourse with these nations in ancient times. If it is remembered that there was not a proper outlet for the immense wealth which Southern India was hoarding by this means for five or six centuries as will be shown below, we can easily account for the fact that despite the want of natural sources of gold in the country, the south was remarkable for the possession of fabulous quantities of that metal as is revealed to us by numerous epigraphical records and as also attested to by the Muhammadan historians. At this stage we propose to give a list of Romans sovereigns represented by their coins in South India. They are:—

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[1] *The account given in this section is based on Mr. Edgar Thurston's Coins of the Madras Museum, Catalogue No. 2 and the information of the Roman historians.*

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[1] *Ind., Ant., Vol. XL. p.* 229.

Kings	Date	Places where their coins were found and when
I Augustus	.. B.C. 44-14 A.D.	Pollachchi (1888), Vellalur (1842), and Karur (1868).
I *a* Drusus (Senior)	.. B.C.S.	Vellalur (1842), Kalayamuttur (1856).
I *b* Antonia (wife of I *a*)	.. ..	Karur (1806).
I *c* Germanicus	.. ..	Vellalur (1842).
II Tiberius	.. A.D. 14-37.	Pollachchi (1800), Karur (1806 and 1878), Vellalur (1842) Cannanore (1851), Kalayamuttur (1856).
III Caligula	37-41	Vellalur (1842), Kalayamuttur (1856).
IV Claudius	.. 41-54	Karur (1806), Vellalur (1842), Kalayamuttur (1856).
V Nero	.. 54-68	Cannanore (1851), Kalayamuttur (1856).
VI Vespesian	.. 69-79	Kistna (1888).
VII Domitian	.. 81-96	Madura, Kalayamuttur (1856), Kistna (1888).
VIII Nerva	.. 96-98	Kalayamuttur (1856).
IX Trajan	.. 98-117	Nellore (1787), Cuddapah (1838) and Kalayamuttur (1856).

Kings	Date	Places where their coins were found and when
X Ha......	117-138	Kalayamuttur (1856), Kistna (1888).
XI Antonious Pius	138-161	Kistna (1888), Sholapur (1840).
XII L. Verus	died 169	Kistna (1888).
XIII Marcus Aurelius	161-180	Do.
XIV Commodius	180-193	Kalayamuttur (1856), Sholapur (1840), Kistna (1888).
XV Severus	193-211	Sholapur (1840).
XVI Caracalla	211-212	Kistna (1888).
XVII Geta	212-217	Sholapur (1840).
XVIII Alex Severus	222-235	Kistna (1888).
XIX Canstantinus	323-337	Karur.
XX Julianus	361-363	
XXI Velentian	364-375	Elliot's Collection.
XXII Theodosius and Eudocia	393	Elliot's and Tracy's Madura Collection and Seven Pagodas.
XXIII Honorious and Arcadus	395-423 395-408	Scott's Collection.
XXIV Constans II	421	Madura (Tracy's).
XXV Zeno	474-491	Elliot's Madura Collection.

The list is by no means exhaustive. The coins that must have been consigned to the melting pot cannot now be estimated and there is no knowledge as to what kings were represented in them. The first name in the list is that of Augustus who was the first Emperor of Rome after the constitution of the second Republic. About his eonquest of Egypt which threw open direct commercial intercourse with India we have already remarked. Even Drusus and Germanicus who did not succeed him on the throne are reprcsented in the collections above catalogued. They were admitted into the equestrian order and entrusted with the command of large armies under Augustus who, it appears, permitted the issue of coins in their names. Their coins found in Southern India are remarkable for their beauty as containing the nice figureheads of Antonia and Agrippina. Dr. Caldwell has shown that the Indian ambassador who visited the court of Augustus was probably sent by the Pandya king of the day. Fourth in the list is Claudius. During his reign the island of Ceylon was discovered by the Roman navigators and ever since its discovery it formed one of their principal marts in the east. The island was known to the Romans under the name of Taprobane which is an almost unaltered form of Tambapanni, the name given to it in the Singalese chronicle *Dispavansa*. It is said that Claudius received ambassadors from India and Ceylon. Coins of Trajan are numerous in the South Indian finds. The reason for this is not far to seek. He had a highly prosperous reign during which he undertook an expedition against the east. Driving before him the degenerate Parthians he crossed the river Tigris, entered Arabia and pillaged its principal ports. For once we hear of a Roman Emperor entering the Persian gulf with a large fleet bent on conquering the nations of the Orient. He vainly boasted that he reached the borders of India. The next sovereign but one *i.e.*, Antoninus Pius is said to have received an Indian ambassador in his Court; but it is not known by whom he was sent. Eighteenth in the list is Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235). A perusal of the catalogue of the Indian commodities, which has come down to us as being subject to the payment of duty during his time, clearly shows that trade with Southern India was maintained unabated till the third century A.D. So far our coins have taken as without even a single break through all the emperors the time of Augustus. The list is so perfect that one is inclined to believe that these coins were found perhaps in the cabinet of some coin collector instead of their having been introduced for commercial purposes. We note here the big gap of over a hundred years after Alexander Severus which suggests a temporary abeyance of trade between Rome and Southern India; and this is perhaps to be explained by the fact, that soon after the reign of that emperor, the Roman Empire was in a precarius condition, owing to the insurrections which broke out in almost all the provinces and the barbarian invasions of

Italy on all sides, so much so that trade was naturally interfered with. When order and good Government were restored in Rome, trade with India seems to have revived. Accordingly, we find the coins of Constantinus in the collection. Hereafter the list is not so complete as before. But even here we should not fail to mention two names in particular, *viz.*, Julianus and Zeno. In A.D. 362 when the former was emperor, ambassadors from India and Ceylon again visited Rome, taking with them large presents. Zeno's coins carry us to almost the end of the Roman Empire. With the help of these shining tiny little bits, we have followed the commercial relationship between Rome and Southern India from the time of Augustus *i.e.*, a little before the Christian era to the end of the fifth century A.D. What is here said generally about Southern India is applicable to the Pandya country in particular.

Now, a few observations of some of the authorities who have had the opportunity of examining these coins immediately after they were unearthed, deserve to be noted. In several of the finds, the coins disclosed an excellent state of preservation just as if they had been directly issued from the mint. This state of things indicates that they had not suffered damage by long circulation. Again the coins are not only found in the coast towns but are also met with in inland places. Most of them are excellently shaped in the purest gold and are remarkable for the beauty of the design and neat execution. Many of the heads are of striking individuality. Instances of attempts at perforating them for use as ornaments are not wanting and afford sufficient testimony of their having been worn as jewels. In spite of this fact, the large number of coins discovered in each find, which sometimes amounted to several thousands, cannot but lead us to believe that they must have formed part of the currency of the country. It is particularly worthy of note that so far no native coin of any Dravidian king ascribable to the period preceding the tenth century A.D. has been brought to light. Does not this circumstance lend support to the view herein expressed, since the people should of necessity have had a medium of exchange? Added to this, the Tamil inscriptions give direct evidence on the point when they state that the Roman dinar and drachm had been in use among the Dravidians. One other point deserves to be mentioned. A large number of copper coins had been found in the Madura district and this is accounted for by Mr. Sewell and Dr. Cald-well who argue that there was probably a Roman colony stationed in the extreme south of the Peninsula. So far as we are aware no serious objections have been put forth against the acceptance of this view.

Appendix 5

CHRONOLOGY

A.D.

c. 140-90 (?) —Karikala.
c. 180 —Tondaiman Ilantiraiyan.:
315-45 —Simhavarman I (of Mancikallu inscription).
320-321 —Accession of Ebuvala Cantamula.
345-55 —(Siva) Skandavarman I and Mayurasarman, the Kadamba.
c. 350 —Visnugopal (opponent of Samudragupta)
355-70 —Kumaravisnu I.
360-85 —Kangavarman, the Kadamba.
370-85 —Skandavarman II.
385-400 —Viravarman.
385-410 —Bhagiratha, the Kadamba.
400-36 —Skandavarman III.
c. 400 —Konkanivarman, Ganga king consecrated by Skandavarman III.
410-25 —Raghu, the Kadamba.
425-50 —The Kadamba kings Kakusthavarman, S'antivarman and Visnuvarman.
435-65 —Simhavarman II.
458 —Date of the *Lokavibhaga*.
465-90 —Skandavarman IV.
490-520 —Nandivarman (I).
520-40 —Kumaravisnu II.
540-60 —Buddhavarman.
550-65 —Krisnavarman II, the Kadamba.
560-80 —Kumaravisnu III.
580-86 —Simhavarman III.
586-610 —Simhavisnu and Koccenganan the Cola.
c. 600 —Death of Avinita Kongani, Mahadhiraja, the Ganga.

c. 600 —Accession of Durvinita, the Ganga.
c. 609 —Accession of Pulakesin II.
610-30 —Mahendravarman I.
630-68 —Narasimhavarman I.
c. 640 —Hiuen Tsang's visit.
642 —Defeat of Pulakesin II by Narasimha I.
655-78 —Vikramaditya I.
668 —Restoration of Manavarman, the Ceylonese king.
668-69 —Mahendravarman II.
669-91 —Paramesvaravarman I.
670-71 —Camp of Vikramaditya I at Malliyur.
674 —Camp of Vikramaditya I at Uragapura.
675 —Battle of Peruvalanallur.
679 —Sack of Vatapi by Paramesvara I.
679-96 —Vinayaditya, the Western Calukya.
691-729 —Narasimhavarman II, Rajasimha.
691-92 —Vajrabodhi arrives at Kanci.
696-733 —Vijayaditya, the Western Calukya.
718-52 —Visnuvardhana III, Eastern Calukya.
720 —Narasimhavarman II sends ambassadors to the Chinese Empire.
725-78 —Sripurusa Kongani Mahadhiraja, the Ganga.
729-32 —Paramesvaravarman II.
730-68 —Maravarman Rajasimha I, the Pandya.
731-96 —Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.
731 —Expedition of *Yuvaraja* Vikramaditya to Kanci.
731-32 —Citramaya (Skandasisya) ascended the Pallava throne.
734 —Vikramaditya II's expedition to Kanchi.
745-46 —Nandivarman II reinstated on the Pallava throne by Dantidurga, the Rastrakuta.
768 —Accession of Jatila Parantaka *alias* Varaguna I, the Pandya.
778-817 —Sivamara Kongani Mahadhiraja, the Ganga.

783-84	—Attack of Dhruva, the Western Calukya on the Pallava territory.
796-846	—Dantivarman.
802-03	—Govinda III; the Rastrakuta's success over Dantivarman.
817-45	—Interregnum in Dantivarman's reign; rule of Abhimanasiddhi, the Telugu-Coda feudatory.
(845)	—Battle of Tellaru.
846-69	—Nandivarman III.
862	—Accession of Varaguna II, the Pandya.
867-68	—Accession of Vijayalaya, the Cola.
869	—Accession of Nrpatunga.
869-913	—Reign period of Nrpatunga, Kampavarman, and Aparajita.
871	—Accession of Aditya I, the Cola.
895	—Battle of Sripurambiyam.
907	—Accession of Parantaka, the Cola.
913	—End of Pallava rule.

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